

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OCT 21 1962

DEPUTY UNDER
SECRETARY OF STATE

October 24, 1962

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Alex Yushow Fall
 for urgent consideration

184

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary
The Under SecretarySUBJECT: Cuba in the Security Council

1. The Security Council will reconvene around 5:00 this afternoon. Meanwhile, all the leading members of the UN will be stirring around looking for a way out of an extremely dangerous situation.

2. Three mediation efforts can be currently identified:

a. The CAR (together with Algeria) is floating a draft "restrain yourselves and talk" resolution. There have been some changes since yesterday. The resolution, showing the changes is attached at TAB A.

b. The Brazilian and Mexican delegates have approached Arthur Dean and asked whether it would be useful for them to try to get the Cubans and Soviets and to agree to a package that would call for no more introduction of offensive military equipment, the stationing of UN observers in Cuba, and, in return, the lifting of the quarantine. (Their package does not seem to include a ban on further development of missile bases, with material already in Cuba. It certainly does not come anywhere near "dismantling and withdrawal.")

c. U Thant has not yet started to mediate, but in response to the urging of a large group of neutrals will shortly issue what he describes (to Ambassador Stevenson) as a "balanced" appeal to the President and Mr. Khrushchev.

3. We face now the problem of whether to press to a vote the US resolution, and therefore also the Cuban and Soviet resolutions. (Texts of the U.S. and Soviet resolutions are at TAB B). My present view is that it would not be wise to press for a vote forthwith. The Security Council is a better umbrella for behind-the-scenes negotiations with the Soviets than the General Assembly would be. We can control the voting on procedural and substantive matters much better if we stay in the Security Council. If we press our resolution to a vote, collect our seven votes, and draw the promised Soviet vote,

it would

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it would be hard to avoid going on into the General Assembly under the Drafting for Peace Resolution... Shifting the venue to the General Assembly would heat up the political atmosphere, which is what we do not need.

4. If we decide that the matter should remain in the Security Council for the moment, and we do not press our resolution to a vote there today, there are several levels on which we can operate. They are not mutually exclusive, and some combination of them may prove to be the best arrangement:

a. We can agree to a bland resolution that merely asks the parties to get together or asks the Secretary General to get them together. I think we would have to assume that, for some purposes at least, the "parties concerned" now include all members of the OAS.

b. We might agree, as an interim measure, to some form of stand-still resolution but it will have to be one which clearly left our quarantine in effect until there are some arrangements for dismantling and withdrawing the missiles and other offensive weapons in Cuba.

c. We might discreetly encourage an immediate broadening of the issue, to include the whole problem of nuclear missile capabilities at future bases. A way of doing this is illustrated by the resolution at TAB C, which might be put forward by the Irish and/or other appropriate neutrals.

d. We might use the crisis atmosphere to try to get a substantial leap forward in the whole field of arms control. This could take the form of a Heads of Government meeting, at Geneva, of the 18-nation Disarmament Committee, which could provide the occasion for agreement on an atmospheric test ban, an intensification of the work on avoiding surprise attack, and an exercise in summetry. A provision along this line is also included in the draft resolution at TAB C.

5. As of 2:00 p.m. today, my recommendations would be:

a. To keep the matter in the Security Council for the time being;

b. To encourage

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- b. To encourage a broadening of the discussion to include the Turkish and Italian base problems;
- c. To insist on withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from Cuba before lifting our quarantine (i.e., not to be willing to trade our quarantine for a mere stand-still arrangement); and
- d. Do everything we can to use the crisis atmosphere to intensify practical discussions of arms control.

Karlan Cleveland

IC:EC:mtb

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DECODED
DECRYPTED

PROPOSED DRAFT RESOLUTION AS AMENDED

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having considered the recent serious developments in the Caribbean,

Noted with grave concern the threat to international peace and security,

Having listened to the parties directly concerned

1. Calls upon the parties concerned to refrain from any action which may directly or indirectly further aggravate the situation and ~~to take the necessary steps to bring the situation in the Caribbean back to the state of affairs existing prior to 22 October 1962;~~

2. Requests the Acting Secretary General to promptly confer with the parties directly concerned on the immediate steps to take to remove the existing threat to world peace, and to normalize the situation in the Caribbean;

3. Calls upon the parties concerned to comply forthwith with the resolution and provide every assistance to the Acting Secretary General in performing his tasks;

4. Requests the Acting Secretary General to report to the Council on the implementation of paragraph 2 of this resolution.

(Phoned by Mr. Simco, 11:20 a.m., 10/24/62)

REF ID: A6510

"THE SECURITY COUNCIL"

Having considered the serious threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world caused by the continuance and acceleration of foreign intervention in the Caribbean,

Noting with concern that nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons have been secretly introduced into Cuba,

Noting also that as a consequence a quarantine is being imposed around the country;

Gravely concerned that further continuance of the Cuban situation may lead to direct conflict,

1. Calls as a provisional measure under Article 40 for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other offensive weapons;

2. Authorizes and requests the Acting Secretary General to despatch to Cuba a United Nations observer corps to assure and report on compliance with this resolution;

3. Calls for termination of the measures of quarantine directed against military shipments to Cuba upon US certification of compliance with Paragraph 1;

4. Urgently recommends that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics confer promptly on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world, and report thereon to the Security Council."

REF ID: A6511

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SOVIET UNION
.....

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Being guided by the maintenance of peace and the ensuring of security,

Recalls the right of every state to strengthen its defenses,

Considering intolerable the interference by the United States in the internal affairs of Cuba,

Noting the violation of the norms of shipping imposed by the United States,

1. Condemns the actions of the United States designed to violate the United Nations Charter and increase tensions;

2. Insists that the United States Government repeal its controls on shipping;

3. Proposes to the Government of the United States to halt any interference into the affairs of Cuba or any other state constituting a threat to peace;

4. Calls on the United States, the USSR and Cuba to establish contact and to enter into negotiations with a view to normalizing the situation and removing the threat of war.

October 23, 1962

DECODED

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~~REFUGEE RELIEF~~

THE SECURITY COUNCIL:

Acting with grave concern . . . [resabular material
to be inserted later]:

1. Requests the nuclear powers:

a. to halt the delivery of any further long-range
nuclear delivery vehicles (including MRBMs, IRBMs, and ICBMs)
to foreign states outside the territory of the nuclear powers,

b. to render inoperable all such weapons already
located in such foreign states, and

c. to arrange by agreement between them to remove
such weapons from the territories of such foreign states at
the earliest possible time.

2. Authorizes and requests the Secretary General to lend
every assistance to the parties concerned in carrying out these
measures, and to provide observers to insure their simultaneous
implementation.

3. Notes the intention of States Members of the Organization
of American States to lift the quarantine measures around Cuba,
as soon as the offensive weapons have been removed from that
country.

4. Requests the 13-Nation Disarmament Commission to meet
at heads of government level to intensify its efforts to reach
agreement, before the above measures, on further practical steps
toward general disarmament.

EXCISED COPY FOLLOWS

EXCISE

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October 24, 1962

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary
The Under Secretary ✓

SUBJECT: 55: Cuba in the Security Council

1. The Security Council will reconvene around 5:00 this afternoon. Meanwhile, all the leading members of the UN will be stirring around looking for a way out of an extremely dangerous situation.

2. Three mediation efforts can be currently identified:

a. The UAR (together with Algeria) is floating a draft "restrain yourselves and talk" resolution. There have been some changes since yesterday. The resolution, showing the changes is attached at TAB A.

b. The Brazilian and Mexican

package deal not seem to include a ban on further development of missile bases, with material already in Cuba. It certainly does not come anywhere near "dismantling and withdrawal."

c. U Thant has not yet started to mediate, but in response to the urging of a large group of neutrals will shortly issue what he describes (via Ambassador Stevenson) as a "balanced" appeal to the President and Mr. Khrushchev.

3. We face now the problem of whether to press to a vote the US resolution, and therefore also the Cuban and Soviet resolutions. (Texts of the U.S. and Soviet resolutions are at TAB B). My present view is that it would not be wise to press for a vote forthwith. The Security Council is a better umbrella for behind-the-scenes negotiations with the Soviets than the General Assembly would be. We can control the voting on procedural and substantive matters much better if we stay in the Security Council. If we press our resolution to a vote, collect our seven votes, and draw the promised Soviet veto,

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MB

JB Houston

DATE 3/2/62

it would

REVIEWED by JB Houston DATE 3/2/62
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(X) EXCISE (X) DECLASSIFY in PART
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FOI, EO or PA exemptions 8(1)(a)(t)
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e. To insist on withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from Cuba before lifting our quarantine (i.e., not to be willing to trade our quarantine for a mere stand-still arrangement); and

C. C.
Harlan Cleveland

10:EC:mtb

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PROPOSED UAR DRAFT RESOLUTION AS AMENDED

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having considered the recent serious developments in the Caribbean,

Noted with grave concern the threat to international peace and security,

Having listened to the parties directly concerned

1. Calls upon the parties concerned to refrain from any action which may directly or indirectly further aggravate the situation and to take the necessary steps to bring the situation in the Caribbean back to the state of affairs existing prior to 22 October 1962;

2. Requests the Acting Secretary General to promptly confer with the parties directly concerned on the immediate steps to take to remove the existing threat to world peace, and to normalize the situation in the Caribbean;

3. Calls upon the parties concerned to comply forthwith with the resolution and provide every assistance to the Acting Secretary General in performing his tasks;

4. Requests the Acting Secretary General to report to the Council on the implementation of paragraph 2 of this resolution.

SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Being guided by the maintenance of peace and the ensuring of security,

Recalls the right of every state to strengthen its defenses,

Considering intolerable the interference by the United States in the internal affairs of Cuba,

Noting the violation of the norms of shipping imposed by the United States,

1. Condemns the actions of the United States designed to violate the United Nations Charter and increase tensions;

2. Insists that the United States Government repeal its controls on shipping;

3. Proposes to the Government of the United States to halt any interference into the affairs of Cuba or any other state constituting a threat to peace;

4. Calls on the United States, the USSR and Cuba to establish contact and to enter into negotiations with a view to normalizing the situation and removing the threat of war.

October 23, 1962

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"DEFANGING RESOLUTION"

THE SECURITY COUNCIL:

Noting with grave concern . . . [preambular material to be inserted later]:

1. Requests the nuclear powers:

- a. to halt the delivery of any further long-range nuclear delivery vehicles (including MREMs, LRMs, and ICERMs) to foreign states outside the territory of the nuclear powers,
- b. to render inoperable all such weapons already located in such foreign states, and

c. to arrange by agreement between them to remove such weapons from the territories of such foreign states at the earliest possible time.

2. Authorizes and requests the Secretary General to lend every assistance to the parties concerned in carrying out these measures, and to provide observers to insure their simultaneous implementation.

3. Notes the intention of States Members of the Organization of American States to lift the quarantine measures against Cuba, as soon as the offensive weapons have been removed from that country.

4. Requests the 18-Nation Disarmament Commission to meet at heads of government level to intensify its efforts to reach agreement, beyond the above measures, on further practical steps toward general disarmament.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

(TAB B)

"THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having considered the serious threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world caused by the continuance and acceleration of foreign intervention in the Caribbean,

Noting with concern that nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons have been secretly introduced into Cuba,

Noting also that as a consequence a quarantine is being imposed around the country;

Gravely concerned that further continuance of the Cuban situation may lead to direct conflict,

1. Calls as a provisional measure under Article 40 for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other offensive weapons;
2. Authorizes and requests the Acting Secretary General to despatch to Cuba a United Nations observer corps to assure and report on compliance with this resolution;
3. Calls for termination of the measures of quarantine directed against military shipments to Cuba upon UN certification of compliance with Paragraph 1;
4. Urgently recommends that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics confer promptly on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world, and report thereon to the Security Council."

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